1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

684 [796] be. The Earth Mother, who is the giver of fertility, takes the adulterous woman who is with child under her protection, and no one may harm her. But the guilty man must make redress to the betrayed husband. Fines must be paid by the adulterer, and there is the beating which the husband administers. This beating has its ritual. The culprit, at the time that is set, comes out to the place where the injured husband and his family wait. They attack him with bare fists, although the Kromanti arm obias are sometimes slipped down on clenched hands, and with these serious wounds can be inflicted. With or without the iron arm bands, the beating is a serious matter, and the man who has committed the trespass is severely mishandled, unless he can get away from his assailants and run into the bush. In the bush he has sanctuary, and at the end of some time may come back to his village. The gods will not give a weakling husband, or one who is not clever enough to take his revenge when it is offered, a second chance.

At times this beating is a merry affair. This happens when the adulterer's family tries to protect him, and then the matter becomes a two-family brawl, or, if the village is a large one with more than one clan substantially represented in it, it may become a fight between two clans. Once, in a village near the railhead, a man was killed in such a fight, and then white police stepped in, and the murderer went to prison.

628

622 [798] A chief, however, can give the culprit sanctuary, and Asikanu, being a chief's brother, was protected by the chief while negotiations were being carried on in his behalf. Now he was sent away from home to be one of our paddlers so that the enraged husband might be dealt with—time helps to cool anger. This was important in Asikanu's case, since the husband of the woman who had gone to Asikanu would consent to no fine, however large, and seemed, furthermore, to have misgivings about the manner in which the ritual beating would be conducted. "I will kill myself," he had been heard to declare. "I will kill myself, and give them all kunu. My *yorka*—ghost—will come to

776 782 684 754

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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could enter it until he took the kandu away. Suppose a man went to hunt, and a friend came back to the village with a message from the hunter to get something inside the house. If no one at all could get it, it would not be good."

"What happens then?"

"The friend would seek out the man's own child—a child the man himself had made—and ask him to lift the kandu."

"Suppose his wife lifted it? Or his sister's child?"

"They wouldn't. The spirit in the kandu would punish them. His true, true child could touch the kandu, and his brother, or his sister, or his brother's children," said Bayo.

"The sisters' children?" we asked again.

"No, no! They would lift their own father's kandu."

Was there anyone else, we inquired, who could remove the kandu from a man's house?

Bayo considered. "Anyone who is born with the same tchina can lift it," he said, finally. "Those with the same tchina have the same fathers. Those whose fathers are the same, a kandu cannot harm."

7

We were talking one night with some men of the Anago clan.

"Is it true," asked one, "that in the Negro country there are great warriors, and many wars?"

In olden times, we said, it was true, but today the African peoples were at peace.

"So it is now on the Saramacca River," he replied, but with a laugh he added, "Sometimes there are quarrels."

For instance, there had been a quarrel on the river not very long ago over lumber which had been cut by members of one clan on land belonging to another. The men knew they had no right to the timber, but they cut it down. The first time they were warned, and fines were demanded. The second time it happened, however, the men of the clan who owned the bush where these trees stood surprised the trespassers, and beat them.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

628 "Yes," the man went on, "and there was much trouble." The men who had been punished incited their entire clan to come to their aid in an attack on the clan villages of those who had chastized them. "But now they are at peace." Those who were beaten were of his own clan, he said.

"And did you win your fight? What happened after that?"

"I did not go with the men. The land where the trees stood belonged to my father's clan, and my father's people I would not fight."

"What did you do?"

"I tried to make peace between them. That is what a man does when his father's clan and his mother's clan have trouble. But I was too young to speak in the big krutu—the assembly of the chiefs—so it was the elders of the Nyamfai people who brought them together, and settled the matter."

There was a point which we wanted cleared up. What was the attitude of the group toward a man who did not enter into a fight which concerned his own clan?

"Did no one say you ought to fight, too?" we asked, explaining our question to the man several times.

"No, why should they? A man can't fight against his father's people. Everybody knows that."

"But what if you did?"

"The gods would turn against my side."

After our return down river, when we again sat in the hut of the headman of the Gankwe clan, we turned to him with some questions about the family, and he gave us the following summary.

593 [614] 424 604 "From our mother we get our *lo*, our clan, and our *mbe*, our great family. Our mother's brothers are those we must obey. They correct us when we do wrong. They tell us what is good. In our mother's village is our true home, and from there we are buried when we die. But our father is our friend. He gives us his advice. From him we get many of the gods we dance to when we are men, and from him we

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

When there is a conflict between villages over their hunting and fishing territories, the captains and bosseias of each town meet on some neutral ground and arbitrate the matter. Then, indeed, the parley becomes wordy and rhetorical. Each cause is championed with long speeches, setting forth oratorically the rights and conditions involved. But once an agreement is arrived at, the matter is closed.

Local disputes, excluding those over women, are not nearly so common or so serious as they are among civilized white men. There is a minimum of quarrelling among the Djukas; they get along together in an almost idyllic way. Wherever there are women, there will, of course, be quarrelling, for, in the words of Confucius, "Disorder does not come from heaven, but is brought about by women." Outside of this factor there is little friction in the Bush Negro community. Their highly communalized government works exceedingly well.

The Granman and his captains have an annual council to make laws for the coming year. This and other assemblies are known as *krutu*. The captains and bosseias from surrounding villages concentrate at some important town to meet the Granman there. The Council near Gansee, the trading-post, included the villages of Nu, Lombe, Biodoti, Ganya Condree, and Adawai. Jankoeso refused to hold his parley in the town proper, although Gansee is the largest village in the entire tribe, because there is a Christian mission station there, conducted by the Moravian Brothers. Jankoeso is in favour of retaining the ancestral gods of the jungle, and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramaca

322 The small Paramacca tribe does much less in the way of wood carving than do the others of the Djukas. This was evidenced by the few pieces we were able to collect and was also known to be a fact by the Aucaner Bush Negroes who accompanied us to the Paramacca district. The motifs displayed upon the articles collected were practically identical with those found on Aucaner pieces.

123 In fairness to the Paramaccas, however, it must be mentioned from our experience among other tribes that collecting is much facilitated when one is cordially known. On a second or third expedition one is able to collect many times more specimens than upon a first introduction. The Bush Negroes are at first shy as a rule and not anxious to part with their belongings.

184 The tribes do not fraternize much with each other. Some 619 travellers report that the Aucaner and Boni tribes feel them- 609 selves superior to the others because they have less contact with the white man. If this is true, we cannot report any personal observation of it. A traveller has no more difficulty among them than among the Saramaccaner people. Some 628 ill-feeling between the Aucaners and Saramaccaners dates 609 back to the slave revolt, when the former observed their peace treaty so scrupulously as even to aid the slave-owners in re-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

gaining possession of other fugitives. It is said that, until recently, actual war prevailed among the tribes because some Saramaccaners invaded the Boni and Aucaner districts, poaching on their lumbering, hunting, fishing, and balata rights. The punishment today for any Bush Negro found poaching in another district is a healthy beating with canoe paddles and fists, after which he is warned not to repeat the offence.

With the Indians of Surinam the Bush Negroes have little commerce or intercourse. These aborigines belong principally to three American tribes, the Carib, Acaway, and Arawak. They and the Djukas mutually look down on each other, but in our opinion the latter are intellectually the superior. Indian and Djuka villages are separate; very little trading occurs between them. On the Marowyne, Tapanahoni, and Lawa Rivers, however, the Negroes occupy a strategic position on the middle rivers, so that Indians from their remote villages along the upper river must pass by Bush Negro towns on their way downstream to trade at the white settlement of Albina, near the mouth of the Marowyne. The Djukas tell the Indians that the white men in Albina practise cannibalism. Rather than run the risk of trading with cannibals, the Indians barter their stuff in the Bush Negro towns. By this crafty arrangement, the Negroes obtain bead and feather work in exchange for tobacco and for machetes.

The Indians on the other rivers do not share this superstition concerning the white man's cannibalism. None of the Indian tribes mingle with the Djukas other than for the pur-

/23 cont./

621 175 [66] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned. Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

[648] [628]

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kénéya, Amawi, and Oka.

/142 cont./

582 619 of other groupings are rare; that is because the Boni have almost no occasion to frequent the Tapanahoni, where economic activity is nil.

For 123 married men of the villages on the French bank there were in November, 1958, 11 unions with Djuka women, or 8 per cent. No marriage to Saramaka or Paramaka women existed.

582 613 The table confirms besides that marriages between members of different kin groups are entirely free and are not subject to any preoccupation with exchange or reciprocity. For example, out of 60 unions between Boni women of the Lapé lineage and Boni men, we have:

6	with	men	of	the	Dipélu I lineage
7	--	--	-	-	Dipélu II --
7	--	--	-	-	Papaïston --
11	--	--	-	-	Awara Bakka --
4	--	--	-	-	Dju --
5	--	--	-	-	Dipélu I /sic/ --
20	--	--	-	-	Kotika --

• [628] In fact, the geographical proximity of the villages has the most direct influence on unions.

582 613 628 For example a high proportion of women from Kormotibo (Dip. II) married men from Papaïston and reciprocally.

That comes from the fact that these villages are near each other and isolated from others. It is the same for Kotika and L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I). In the small Afi lineage, divided between Kormotibo and Asisi-Awara Bakka villages, more than half the women are married to inhabitants of these two villages.

582 619 621 Certain personal affinities and habits of living have an indirect influence. For example, the Djuka boatmen passing through Boni country habitually stay in Asisi-Awara Bakka, because they are received in the homes of some of their own

/226 cont./

784 182 Finally, a fifth kunu is threatening to show itself. This is a remarkable affair which clarifies at the same time the legal and religious conceptions of the Refugee Blacks.

672 About 1918, a stupid accident which happened at Dagouédé (gun which went off by itself at the moment when it was being stowed in a boat) caused the death of a girl, Santonia, daughter of Kuluba (Aw.B.1). The unwitting perpetrator of the accident was Kwau (Dip. I. Apatu village). (692) There were people in the Awara Bakka lineage who accused him of having done it on purpose, but the grand man judged that he was innocent and the affair was shelved.

784 614 795 789 Now in April, 1957, Kiboya (Dip. II), a young woman of 25, was attacked by a fit of possession. It was Santonia's yɔrka which was supposed to reveal itself in her. It declared that it was going to exercise a kunu on Dipélu. It was not claiming that Kwau had killed her on purpose and even asked the Awara Bakka not to make reprisals.

• 628 614 Nevertheless, full of fury, a party of Awara Bakka went the next day to attack the village of L'Enfant Perdu, demolishing a certain number of huts and pursuing the inhabitants, some of whom took refuge in the water and others in the bush. There were, however, no serious blows.

The next day they went to attack Kormotibo in the same way. It is to be noted that only after that did they think of blaming Kwau, who was then living at Wacapou. But the grand man had intervened in the meantime to re-establish peace.

In both cases the façades of several shacks were smashed and two men, Bonana and Amatodja, who had run less fast than the others, were struck symbolically.

/226 cont./

The members of the Dipfin lineage did not believe a word of this affair, convinced that Kiboya, a proud and scheming woman, had pretended the gita to make herself interesting. Nevertheless, to bring back peace, they decided to go to Asisi and to ask pardon in front of the fraga tiki, pouring tafia, asking the ancestors not to take vengeance, the living being reconciled.

/227/ (Note that in this affair, the yɔrka manifests itself in a member of the lineage on which it exercises the kunu.)

Kunu of the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka lineage does not form a unit with respect to the kunu, and the situation of its fractions is particularly interesting. This lineage includes:

--A principal fraction (Aw.B.1);

--A fraction whose kinship ties with the first are forgotten (Aw.B.2), whose position with respect to the kunu we have not been able to define.

--Finally, a group descended from Anèta, Djuka woman, wife of Pééyon † (Aw.B.1) settled in Asisi with her descendants in uterine line. We have called this group Aw.B.3. It has a separate kunu originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki where Anèta came from.

The Awara Bakka I, all living in Asisi village, had to our knowledge three kunu in 1957:

--One exercised by a Papa gadu god, borne up to 1957 by O Kuluba (Aw.B.1, D1). At her death in April, 1957, she bequeathed it, contrary to custom, to a person of another fraction, Summa (Aw.B.3). But the god did not ratify this legacy and, in January, 1958; it manifested itself in O Léna (Aw.B.1, F52), thus remaining in the same lineage;

784 /233 cont./ One conceives of the
795 interminable dissensions which this situation entails: if the
613 manifestations of the kunu do not cease, the victims let it be
578 understood that the prayers were badly made.... /Figure 28
appears here./

761 Every suspicious death whose circumstances lead to the
628 belief that /234/ an inhabitant of another village was responsi-
613 ble can bring on a punitive expedition against that village and
784 other villages of the same kin group. By taking this vengeful
attitude even before the grand man has been notified and the
blamed people heard, the people of the dead person's lineage
are thinking above all else of taking precautions against the
action of the dead person, who could turn back his vengeance
628 against them. Actually, these fights are above all symbolic;
the wisdom of the Refugee Blacks has promulgated precepts
which many nations could take as a pattern, in order that these
punitive expeditions might not have serious consequences:

--One may strike only with the fists, and blood must not flow;

--Men may strike only men, while the women find fault with women;

--One may fight only on the village common and before witnesses, never in the bush or on the river. As a general rule, the people aimed at by the expedition do not resist, but flee into the bush or on the boats, or group themselves around the fraga tiki, holy place which the aggressors must respect.

628 We have told about the expedition made in April, 1957
613 by the people of Asisi-Awara Bakka against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu (Dipélu I) and Kormotibo (Dipélu II). Eight years earlier, in 1949, another squabble had thrown the Dipélu against the Awara Bakka after the death of Pétikona (Dip. II), whom her husband Boofo had taken to Surinam and who had died there. The Kormotibo people claimed that Boofo was responsible for her death. They went to attack the people of Asisi who, although three times more numerous, did not try

/234 cont./

628 613 to resist and fled to Boniville, where some took refuge in the water, others in the bush. About ten shacks were broken (without great damage), principally kitchens and empty sheds. Only one man could be caught and he received several punches.

The expedition of April, 1957 against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu and Kormotibo did not do much more harm. Only one good house was smashed, that of Akwali (Dip. II, Kormotibo) because its owner, passing by in a boat on the river, insulted the aggressors....

784 613 619 648

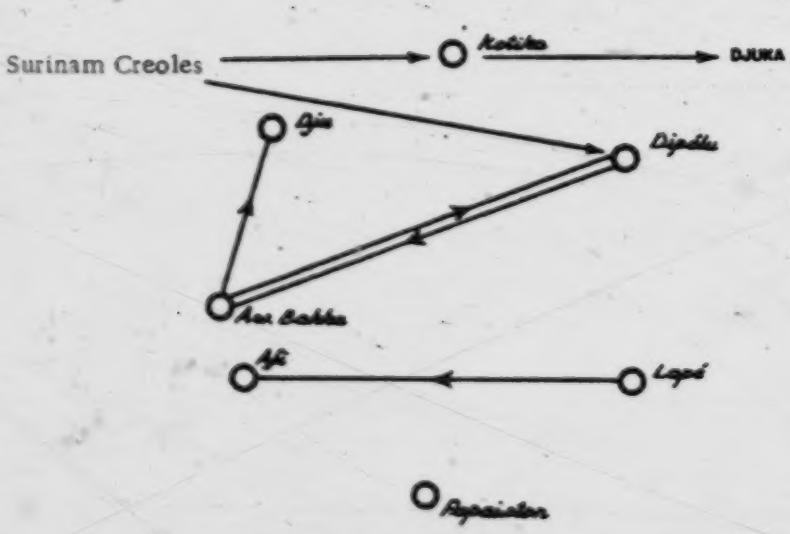

Fig. 28. Schema of the kunu exercised upon one another by the various lineages.

/234 cont./

695 Fist-fighting is practiced also between individuals as a test for justification. If someone is unjustly accused of theft, this is the first idea which occurs to him, even before the oath before Odun. On this subject the Refugee Blacks have a conception analogous to that of the ancient Europeans, according to which God will come to the aid of the innocent person, giving him the strength of ten. This fighting, too, is subject to precise rules; it can be indulged in only publicly, in a village, never in the bush or on the river.

In spite of the importance attached to the oath before Odun, Boni custom does not make provision for any test for
628 justification having a recognized legal value. This is what makes
613 the symbolic battle indispensable. Intervention is then asked of the head of a neutral lineage in order to restore peace. If no death or calamity takes place allowing /235/ belief in the unappeased vengeance of a dead person, the affair is very quickly forgotten. For example, in examining the table of marriages among the various lineages, one ascertains that there are a number of normal unions between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka.

643 In these kinds of affairs the grand man has two very
692 exact functions:

--To reveal pretense;

--To intervene as supreme arbiter in case of necessity.

[787] Each time that someone is attacked by a fit of possession
[775] and claims to speak in the name of a yɔrka coming to exercise a kunu, the lineage head conducts him to the grand man who makes sure that there is no question of pretense.

643 The grand man, in the thought of the Boni, has the
775 power to compel any yɔrka to manifest itself.
787 He conducts the person concerned to the fraga tiki and
695 invokes the yɔrka. If pretense is involved, the individual will not be able to articulate a syllable. If it is true possession, the yɔrka will speak through his mouth.

6